DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 081 543 RC 007 252

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TITLE The Effects of Racial Desegregation on High School Youth's Educational Projections: A Quasi-Experimental Study.
INSTITUTION Texas A and M Univ., College Station. Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.
SPONS AGENCY Cooperative State Research Service (DOA), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO TAES-H-2811
PUB DATE Aug 73
NOTE 49p.; Paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society annual meeting, College Park, Maryland, August 1973

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Academic Aspiration; *Educational Opportunities; *Educational Planning; *High School Students; Negroes; Occupational Aspiration; *Racial Segregation; *Rural Youth; Social Mobility

ABSTRACT

Examining educational aspirations and expectations of black and white youths in segregated and desegregated public schools, the study collected data from a panel of high school sophomores in 1966, seniors in 1968, and 4 years after high school in 1972, in 3 Texas counties selected for a high rural residence and a high black population. In 1966 the 3 counties contained 13 segregated black high schools, 9 segregated white high schools and 1 desegregated high school. In 1968 there were only 3 white schools and 5 black schools still segregated. The design of the research was characterized as an accidental quasi-experiment because several but not all the conditions necessary for rigorous field experimentation were present. The major finding was that the desegregation experience in the youth panel had a negligible effect on the formation of measured mobility-linked attitudes. (PS)

ED 081543

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# THE EFFECTS OF RACIAL DESEGREGATION ON HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH'S EDUCATIONAL PROJECTIONS: A QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL STUDY

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[1]Paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society annual meeting, University of Maryland, College Park, August 1973. Development of this paper was sponsored by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station as a contribution to TAES Project H-2811 and USDA (CSRS) Research Project S-81, "Development of Human Resource Potentials of Rural Youth in the South and Their Patterns of Mobility." Appreciation is expressed to Bonnie Burris, Randi Cole and Leslie Rust for their assistance in the preparation of this manuscript. Appreciation is also expressed to John Womack for his programming assistance.

[2]Technical Article No.___ of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.

RC007252

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## INTRODUCTION

Ever since the 1954 Supreme Court ruling in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, there has been much speculation on the effect of racial desegregation in the public schools, and the topic is still one subject to much debate and conjecture (e.g., the effects of bussing). Many of the arguments against racial desegregation in the public schools have had analogous counterparts in other equally emotionally-charged areas. In particular, this has been true with respect to race and housing and in many ways continues to be so even after the important work of Laurenti (1960).

In the past decade, as more and more school districts have been forced by court order to racially balance (desegregate) their schools, there has been a corresponding increase in the number of research studies aimed at investigation of the racial desegregation phenomenon. (See Weinberg, 1970 and the bibliography of Jencks et al., 1972). The present study hopes to contribute to previously reported research by utilizing a quasi-experimental design to examine certain findings reported in the recent book by Jencks, et al., Inequality. Because of the currency of the Jencks study, it serves as a kind of primer for information on the effects of racial desegregation in the public schools.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, DESEGREGATION, AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

It is impossible in a report such as this to avoid at least some mention of the concept "equal opportunity"; it is, after all, on this tenet that many of the Court suits involving segregated school systems have been (and are presently) based. Further, the concept also is central to much of the research on the segregation-desegregation phenomenon.

Even a cursory reading of the literature which discusses equal opportunity leads one to conclude that conceptual clarity is lacking and that any one definition utilized will be problematic. The concept is most often discussed in an evaluative context; thus the criteria most often mentioned in attempting to operationalize the concept may be generally referred to as: (1) inputs, (2) outputs, and (3) a combination of inputs and outputs. (For examples of the ways in which the concept could be and has been operationalized, see Coleman, 1968:9-24; Guthrie, et al., 1971:2-5;93;138-139; Gordon, 1972:423-434; Jencks, 1972:3-15; Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972:6-7.) The confusion over this conceptual ambiguity was epitomized in the Coleman study (1966) which "adopted not one but, in succession, two definitions," (Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972:6).

The present paper is most in accord with the conceptualization which emphasizes outputs -- a position presently favored by many other authors as well. (Substantiation of this may be found in the previously cited references.) Coleman (1966 and 1968), Jencks (1972), and Gordon (1972) would all agree that it is outputs (i.e., results as indicated, for example, by achievement tests, aspirations, or attainment) which have the most significant implications for a better understanding

of social mobility. This receives further support from researchers studying status attainment. In particular, the models of Sewell et al., (1969 and 1970) include such variables as mental ability and grade point average.

A stimulus to much of the research done on the segregation-desegregation phenomenon has been an often implicit assumption that racial segregation is a causal factor in blacks achieving lower test scores and being behind whites at almost any point in time in their educational careers. The antithesis of this is implicit in what many who argue for racial desegregation hope it will achieve. They assume that, put most succintly, because blacks attend racially segregated schools, they achieve a poorer education; therefore, if blacks attend racially desegregated schools, they will achieve a better education (i.e., an education more equal to that afforded whites). This kind of logic, in part, explains why for many people racial desegregation is analogous to or a euphemism for "equal educational opportunity." If we expand on this logic, within our admitted output frame of reference, we find that a chain of events such as the following can be posited:

> Desegregation will lead to more nearly equal educational opportunity which will lead to higher academic achievement which will in turn lead to higher educational and occupational aspirations which in turn will lead to greater social mobility (i.e., higher educational, hence, occupational attainment). (A chain similar to this but with consideration of inputs has been posited by Guthrie, et al., 1971:xvi.)

While our interest in the present paper is primarily limited to looking at the educational aspirational dimension of the status attainment process, the previous discussion is meant to suggest the

potential effect of desegregation (and conversely, segregation) as on (or two) more intervening variable(s) in that process. In short, the idea expressed here is that there may be a need in future status attainment modeling to consider the racial make-up of school attended.

ASPIRATIONS VS. EXPECTATIONS; INTEGRATION VS. DESEGREGATION

The primary concern of the present study is the educational aspirations and expectations of black and white youth in segregated and desegregated public schools. Before undertaking an examination of this, however, it is necessary to give at least some mention to two of the concepts critical to this analysis: i.e., aspirations and expectations.

Aspirations and expectations have been conceptually differentiated by a number of authors, most often in the study of occupational choice (Blau, et al., 1956; Stephenson, 1957; Glick, 1963; Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966; Rehberg, 1967). The work of Kuvlesky and Bealer has been frequently cited by researchers studying within the status projection area of interest. (See the bibliography of Cosby et al., 1973). While their work was primarily intended for use in the study of occupational choice, the same conceptual differentiation has been used in the study of other types of status projections. For present purposes the distinction made by them has been found to be useful and thus has been employed in this study.

The primary difference between the two concepts is found in the desirability in orientation toward either an aspiration or an expectation as a goal. A person's educational aspiration is generally

thought to be more or less desired; however, the person need not necessarily desire the education which he actually expects (as opposed to aspires) to attain.

One other term is in need of clarification. Throughout this paper the term desegregation will be used as opposed to the term integration. This is in keeping with the usage employed by Jencks. Jencks differentiated the two concepts as follows, "Desegregation is defined as housing black and white students under the same roof. Integration is defined as knitting the two groups into a single social community." (Jencks, 1972:98; a similar argument has been made on this by other authors. See for example, Carter, 1964; Pettigrew, 1968; McPartland, 1968; Weinberg, 1970:4.) In the present study there has not been sufficient data on the students' patterns of interaction to justify the use of the term integration, at least as Jencks and others have defined it. Thus the use of the term desegregation.

## INFERENCES FROM JENCKS' INEQUALITY

While there is a voluminous body of research reported which deals with educational aspirations and expectations (see Kuvlesky and Reynolds, 1970), by comparison, there is truly a paucity of research looking at these same aspects considering the racial make-up of schools attended by those populations studied. Although much of the work done on educational aspirations and expectations has considered race, very little of it has considered the segregation-desegregation dimension. (There are exceptions here, of course, reference to which

may be found in the bibliographies of Weinberg, 1970 and Jencks, 1972.) Due to the generally segregated character of public schools in the United States, most researchers have considered racial make-up before considering the influence of dominant social class. Further , the information which has existed has usually been of a limited nature; especially that research which has been done on aspirations. As Jencks points out in his discussion of racial segregation:

> When we turn from economic to racial segregation our conclusions have to be more tentative. Very little of the research on aspirations discussed earlier in this chapter covered high schools with appreciable number of black students. Project Talent did not collect information on students' race until 1965, and it has never managed to located most of the blacks who were presumably in the 1960 sample. EEOS (Equal Educational Opportunity Study) provides information on blacks and whites in both segregated and integrated high schools, but it provides no data on whether their aspirations changed between ninth and twelfth grade. (Jencks, 1972:153-154.)

In an investigation of the educational aspirations and expectations of black and white youth in segregated and desegregated schools, the lack of knowledge apparent in the above citation is complicated by further vagaries. (The vagaries referenced here are further borne out by a reading of Weinberg (1970), especially Chapter 2, "Aspirations and Self Concept.") Several references to Jencks at this point will prove helpful. (1) When individuals with similar family backgrounds and test scores were compared, "those in predominantly black schools had the same aspirations as those in predominantly white schools." (Jencks, 1972:154; also see Riley and Cohen, 1969; Armor, 1967). (2) "...While aspirations are lower in working-class than in middle-class schools, they are higher in black working-class than in white working-class

schools." (Jencks, 1972:154). (3) Another example of the ambiguity about the effects of desegregation is found in an analysis of how blacks in a desegregated school will view their life-chances. Again turning to Jencks:

> Desegregation may convince a black student that he has a chance to make it in the larger society. . . But while the symbolism of desegregation may help convince a black student that he has a chance of making it in the larger society, direct exposure to teachers and students who put him down seem likely to have the opposite effect. (Jencks, 1972:98)

For present purposes, one final quote will suffice to capture the ambiguity which presently exists in the study of racial desegregation of the public schools and provides the raison d' etre for undertaking the present study.

> Taking all the evidence together, we can find no convincing evidence that racial desegregation affects students' eventual education attainment one way or the other. This holds for both blacks and whites. Admittedly, the evidence is not good enough to be regarded as final. There is still a real need for studies of districts where high schools have been desegregated by court order or by deliberate administrative changes in attendance patterns. . .the most reasonable assumption at present is that desegregation makes little or no difference to students' college prospects. (Jencks, 1972:155)

## STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In general, the present study seeks an answer to one broad question, "Do children, both whites and blacks who attend racially desegregated schools, have educational aspirations and expectations which are significantly different (either higher or lower) from children who attend racially segregated schools?" To facilitate this, the study not only examines youths' educational aspirations and expectations but also

examines their perceptions of race and schools attended as impeding their life chances. As a final indicator of youths' pessimism (or optimism) about the future, we have included a measure of how certain youth are about achieving their educational expectations. In every case, the problem is to compare segregated and desegregated populations to see if any differences are observed.

There is, of course, a much broader problem to which this study addresses itself; namely to help broaden the present knowledge base about the effects of segregation versus desegregation. Stated differently, this study's objective is to provide information on a social phenomenon about which relatively little is known and which has important policy implications. As Jencks has pointed out:

> It is easy to construct theories showing either that desegregation will make things better or that it will make them worse. Past experience can also be cited to support either view. Our own prejudice is that in most contexts desegregation will probably increase tension in the short-run and reduce it in the long-run. But we have no real evidence for this. (Jencks, 1972:156)

The present paper will have been of utilitarian value if for no other reason than that of providing additionally needed 'evidence'. Further this evidence will be provided so that desegregation effects may be observed in the short-run (i.e., after two years) and in the longer-run (i.e., four years after anticipated high school graduation or put differently, six years after experiencing the initial desegregation process; the temporal aspect is more understandable if Illustration 1 is examined).

PROPOSITIONS AND HYPOTHESES

In the present study, the sample has been limited to youth from three rural counties and only those youth with parental SES scores, using the Duncan socioeconomic index (1961), of equal to or less than 45 have been included. As will be discussed in greater detail below, these schools would not generally be considered to be providing a middle-class millieu; they are located in rural areas with predominantly lower or working class youth attending them. With these parameters, it is possible to be somewhat more precise with our propositions and hypotheses. In fact, each proposition or hypothesis is meant to be implicitly prefaced by "Controlling for SES and (nonmetropolitan) place of residence. . ."

The main limitation of referring to extant literature in formulating research hypotheses and propositions about desegregation is the lack of referable studies available. Even in the two best bibliographic sources on desegregation to date, the bulk of research reports cited refer to comparisons of segregated populations; that is, if comparisons are made at all, they are most often between blacks and whites who have attended, respectively, either all black or all white schools. Rare iw the study that truly considers the effects of racial desegregation.

It is generally conceded that blacks will have educational aspirations equal to or greater than those of whites (In addition to Jencks, 1972; Riley and Cohen, 1969; and Armor, 1967; also see, for example, Boyd, 1952; Wilson, 1959; Blake, 1960; Geisel, 1962; Gottlieb, 1967. A good bibliographic reference on this is Kuvlesky and Reynolds, 1970.), thus in the present study we have chosen to ignore this to concentrate specifically on the segregation-

desegregation dimension as it effects comparable groups of segregated and desegregated blacks and whites. When we consider only these groups, the literature to which we can refer becomes rather scanty. There are, however, some studies relevant for present purposes and it is to these studies that we refer in stating the research proposition and hypotheses to be tested in this paper.

Our main interest here is to make intra-racial comparisons. However the wording of our propositions will be sufficiently inclusive to include both segregated and desegregated white and black youth while our hypotheses will be more restrictively worded to include only the intra-racial comparisons. The test of the propositions will come from examining the results of the derived hypotheses.

The broadest proposition in this study is the one constructed to test for any racial or school construct (i.e., segregated or desegregated) differences in educational projections. Keeping in mind the literature already cited, we were led to posit the following:

Proposition I: Educational aspirations and expectations of segregated and desegregated black and white youth will not be significantly different.

To adequately test this broad proposition, it is possible to construct a set of lesser propositions and hypotheses. It has been previously noted that the findings we have to date are nothing else if not both limited and confusing. It is precisely this ambiguity which has led Jencks and others to so often conclude in a tentative fashion. A good example of this is found in an analysis of the possible effects of a positive versus negative environment (Jencks, 1972:98; Gottlieb, 1964;

Pettigrew, 1964; Crain, 1971; Cohen et al., 1972). The dilemma faced here is of particular relevance for black youth. Desegregation and a positive environment might lead to blacks having higher aspirations, however if a negative environment were encountered, the effect could be one of repressing aspirations. Conversely, segregation may provide greater peer group support and a more positive environment but on the other hand, segregation may provide a negative environment from the standpoint of more negative reinforcement about upwardly mobile attitudes. Considering these conflicting suppositions as tests of Proposition I, the following propositions and hypotheses were constructed:

Proposition II: The educational aspirations of segregated and desegregated black and white youth will not be significantly different.

Hypothesis IIa: The educational aspirations of segregated and desegregated black youth will not be significantly different.

Hypotheses IIb: The educational aspirations of segregated and desegregated white youth will not be significantly different.

Proposition III: The educational expectations of segregated and desegregated black and white youth will not be significantly different.

Hypothesis IIIa: The educational expectations of segregated and desegregated black youth will not be significantly different.

Hypothesis IIIb: The educational expectations of segregated and desegregated white youth will not be significantly different.

To further test for differences which might occur due to segregation or desegregation, two other propositions and hypotheses derived from

those propositions were constructed. The intent in this case was to see if any group saw "race" or "schools gone to" as a significant blocking factor. The earlier citation of Gottlieb (1964), Pettigrew (1964), Crain (1971), Cohen et al., (1972), and Jencks (1972) is again applicable. The assumption is that in either the segregated or desegregated schools, any positive effects are in some ways offset by negative effects. This leads to asking the question, "Is the segregated or desegregated group more or less pessimistic about the effects of race and schools attended?" Imputing a kind of universal awareness of racial discrimination on the part of blacks, the following propositions and hypotheses were tested:

Proposition IV: Race will be perceived as a blocking factor equally by segregated and desegregated white and black youth.

Hypotheses IVa: Race will be perceived as a blocking factor equally by segregated and desegregated black youth.

Hypothesis IVb: Race will be perceived as a blocking factor equally by segregated and desegregated white youth.

It could be assumed with some justification (See, especially, Coleman, 1966) that the schools attended by segregated blacks are generally of poorer quality than those schools attended by segregated or desegregated whites; that is, they are more poorly funded, in worse physical condition, staffed with poorer teachers, etc. Since this seems to generally be the case, it may be assumed that blacks who begin attending desegregated schools will have access to a generally better (although not necessarily more positive) educational environment. Considering this, the following proposition and hypotheses were constructed:

Proposition V: Segregated black youth, but not segregated white youth, will perceive schools attended as a blocking factor significantly more intensely than will desegregated black or white youth.

Hypothesis Va: Segregated black youth will perceive schools attended as a blocking factor significantly more intensely than desegregated black youth.

Hypothesis Vb: Schools attended will be perceived as a blocking factor equally by segregated and desegregated white youth.

One last proposition remains to be stated and it, too, is in some ways contingent upon the type of educational environment encountered. The question in need of answer here is, "How certain are segregated or desegregated youth about their educational expectations?" This question has been raised in an attempt to shed some additional light on the difficulty which youth perceive they will encounter in achieving the education they expect. Paralleling the work of the developmental theorists studying occupational choice (See for example, Ginzberg, et al., 1951; Blau, et al., 1956; Super, 1957; Rodgers, 1966; Musgrave, 1967.), the theoretical implication here is that expectations should become more realistic as the youth matures, thus the youth should become more certain about his expectation. For present purposes, unless the segregation-desegregation phenomenon operates as an intervening force, it seems plausible to posit that neither the segregated nor desegregated groups will be more certain about its' expectations. This leads to our last proposition and hypotheses:

Proposition VI: Segregated black and white youth will be neither more nor less certain about their educational expectations than desegregated black and white youth.

Hypothesis VIa: Segregated black youth will be neither more nor less certain about their educational expectations than desegregated black youth.

Hypothesis VIb: Segregated white youth will be neither more nor less certain about their educational expectations than desegregated white youth.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY SITE

Information used in this analysis was obtained by combining data collected from a panel of high school sophomores (1966) and seniors (1968) conducted by Kuvlesky and his colleagues with a recent post-high school follow up study - four years after high school (1972). The original high school study, sometimes referred to in the literature as the East Texas Youth Study (See Kuvlesky and Cosby, 1972 for a bibliography of resulting reports), was concerned in general with the formation and change of selected mobility-linked attitudes among rural youth. The 1972 follow-up was essentially an extension of the first studies into the early adult years.

The three counties which constitute the study site were selected as a result of the high proportion of rural residence and the high proportion of blacks in the population. Each county was classified as 100% rural by the 1960 U.S. Census and each had a substantial black population, (percentage black ranged from 31% to 51% in 1960). Each county also had a heavy dependency on agricultural enterprises, and each had experienced little industrialization -- there was only one firm in any of the three counties that employed more than twenty workers in 1964. As would follow, all three counties had a recent history of high rates of out-migration of their youth to metropolitan centers. Among the other indicators of the social and economic conditions

prevalent in the study area were: (1) a stable or declining population between the 1960 and 1970 censuses; (2) a low median level of education with relatively few high school graduates (in neither of the three counties had more than one quarter of the population graduated from high school) and (3) a low median level of income (median income in 1960 ranged from a low of $1737 to a high of $2875 in 1960.)

In the initial 1966 contact, data were collected by interviewing all sophomores present the day of the interview in all schools in the three counties. There were at this period thirteen segregated black high schools, nine segregated white high schools and one desegregated high school for a total of 23 schools in the study area. As might be expected from the aforementioned discussion of demographic characteristics, the schools generally "suffered" from a lack of facilities normally associated with what might be considered a "quality education". Subjectively, the physical plants, equipment, classroom materials, curricula, and counseling services were substandard. The severity of conditions for some of these schools can be illustrated by the observation that several were inaccessible in wet weather and some relied on the use of out-door toilets. Generally, black schools were considered to have poorer facilities than those observed for whites.

In 1968, second wave interviews were carried out with the same students when most were high school seniors. Again from a subjective basis, improvement in the general conditions of schools was slight or unnoticeable. There was, however, one drastic and clearly observable change. Several of the previously segregated high schools had become

desegregated. That is, six of the segregated black high schools and six of the segregated white high schools had desegregated in the interim. In addition, three of the white schools and five of the black schools remained segregated in 1968. Also two of the original black schools had been closed by 1968 and merged with other segregated black schools.

## DATA COLLECTION

The data utilized in this study were obtained from a three-wave, six year study of youth who were originally sophomores (1966) in the study area. Data collection procedures for each wave were as follows:

(a) Wave I (Spring, 1966). Group-administered questionnaires were given to all tenth-grade high school students present the day of the interview.

(b) Wave II (Spring, 1968). A second contact was made with the respondents previously interviewed in 1966. The majority of the Wave II data was collected by again using group-administered interview schedules with the items contained in this period worded the same as the previous period. Attempts were also made to contact those respondents who had either moved from their original counties or who had dropped out of school; personal interviews and/or mailed questionnaires were used with these respondents. Eighty-nine percent of the Wave I panel was interviewed by these combined techniques. Panel attrition was largely attributed to scholastic dropouts -- approximately one-half of the Wave II losses were high school drop-outs.

(c) Wave III (Summer-Fall, 1972). The third contact was made in 1972 when the original respondents were four years beyond expected high school completion. The measures for this period were primarily obtained by personal interview. Mailed questionnaires and telephone interviews were used for a minority (15%) of the respondents who were not interviewed by the primary method. Approximately 92% of the Wave II panel were recontacted by all methods. The principal cause of panel attrition appeared to be out-of-state migration and military service.

## DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH: AN ACCIDENTAL QUASI-EXPERIMENT FIELD STUDY

During the third wave (1972) interviews with the panel, it became apparent that the data set afforded an excellent opportunity to assess the effects of initial desegregation on the formation of mobility-linked attitudes. An "after the fact" examination of both the introduction of the new policy of desegregation between the sophomore and senior data waves along with the timing of and the procedure used in our data collection has led us to the opinion that we had, in effect, the unusual opportunity to analyze both the short and long run effects of desegregation on this panel in a near-experimental situation. We have chosen to characterize the resulting design as an accidental quasi-experiment. It was accidental in that neither the problem nor the design was anticipated prior to the collection of data. It was considered quasi-experimental, in that, several but not all the conditions necessary for rigorous field experimentation were present

(for a discussion of such issues see: Campbell, 1957, and Campbell and Stanley, 1963). Illustration 1 presents the conditions of the Quasi-Experimental Situation.

BEFORE-MEASUREMENT (Sophomores, 1966)

For the purpose of our experimental analysis of desegregation, the 1966 sophomores survey was considered to provide the basis for before observations. Actually at the time of the sophomore interviewing, one of the twenty-three schools in the study area had already desegregated. Students who attended this one desegregated school in 1966 were deleted and not considered further in the analysis. Thus, our before-measurements consisted of observation of mobility attitudes of all students present in the twenty-two segregated high schools just prior to the partial introduction of the policy of desegregation in their schools.

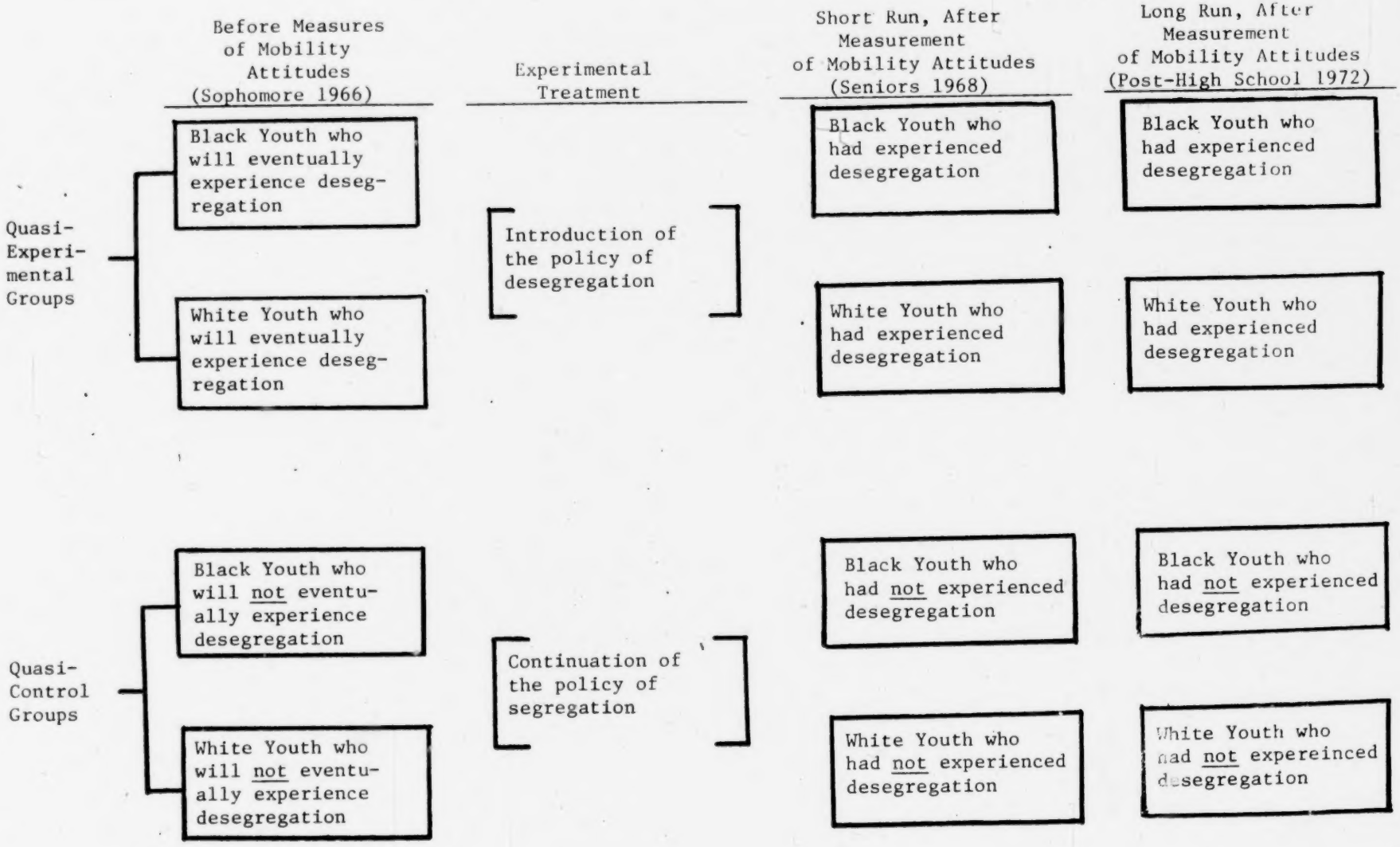
AFTER-MEASUREMENTS, SHORT RUN EFFECTS (Seniors, 1968)

In 1968, second wave interviews were conducted with the same panel of students who had participated in the sophomore survey. In the two year period that had elapsed between the two contacts, twelve of the schools in the study area had desegregated. Thus, we were in the fortunate situation of having measured mobility attitudes just prior to and just after the introduction of the desegregation policy. These after-measurements (Wave II) were considered to give us the potential for estimating short-run effects on attitudes of the desegregation.

AFTER-MEASUREMENTS, LONG RUN EFFECTS (Post-High School, 1972)

In 1972, third wave interviews were conducted with the same panel

Illustration I. Conditions of the Quasi-Experimental Situation.


Before Measures of Mobility Attitudes (Sophomore 1966)
Experimental Treatment
Short Run, After Measurement of Mobility Attitudes (Seniors 1968)
Long Run, After Measurement of Mobility Attitudes (Post-High School 1972)
Quasi-Experimental Groups
Black Youth who will eventually experience desegregation
White Youth who will eventually experience desegregation
Introduction of the policy of desegregation
Black Youth who had experienced desegregation
White Youth who had experienced desegregation
Black Youth who had experienced desegregation
White Youth who had experienced desegregation
Quasi-Control Groups
Black Youth who will not eventually experience desegregation
White Youth who will not eventually experience desegregation
Continuation of the policy of segregation
Black Youth who had not experienced desegregation
White Youth who had not experienced desegregation
Black Youth who had not experienced desegregation
White Youth who had not expereinced desegregation

of students when they were four years beyond the normal date of high school graduation. This third wave contact was considered to provide the additional information needed for a second and long run estimate of the effects of desegregation on mobility-linked attitudes. By comparing effects observed at Wave II and Wave III, it would be possible to distinguish between relatively temporary and lasting effects of the desegregation experience.

## EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUP DETERMINATION

It should be recalled that at the sophomore interviews, all students who were included in the analysis had been attending segregated schools. However, by the senior year of high school the introduction of desegregation had occurred resulting in the observation (Wave II) that about 62% of the students were attending desegregated schools and 38% still remained in their previously segregated situation. The segregated-desegregated groups by race obtained in the senior wave (1968) made up our quasi-experimental and quasi-control groups. One additional procedure was introduced at this point. In order to make the groups more homogeneous, students with parental socioeconomic index scores greater than 45 increments were eliminated.

From an experimental point of view, the factors involved in the determination of the quasi-experimental and control groups represented the greatest departure of the present design from that of "pure" experimentation. Since the design was in large - part accidental, the desirable procedures of randomization and perhaps matching of students was not utilized. It is doubtful that the local school boards would have allowed such procedures even if the study had been proposed in

1966. Nevertheless, since there was an absence of randomization and matching, the question of possible bias in the selection of students for either segregated or desegregated groups becomes a crucial concern. That is, we would like to assume that the desegregation experience was the only unique variable (all other things being equal) introduced to the experimental but not to the control group. Unfortunately we were in a poor position to make this assumption without additional information. Three lines of analysis are presently being considered: (1) an item by item comparison of the control and experimental groups based on known information (1966 survey) obtained prior to the selection of the groups; (2) the use of discriminant analysis to see if the two groups can be predicted from 1966 data, and (3) additional field work in the study site to obtain additional information concerning the 1966-68 period.

## STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

In keeping with the design employed and the hypothesis stated earlier in this report, simple analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures were applied to the differences between the various experimental and control means, i.e., intra-race differences between experimental and control group means were tested. For convenience, the .05 level of significance was selected for statistical decisions. Means, standard deviation, F-ratios and significance levels were reported for each comparison.

## VARIABLE DESCRIPTION

The following procedures were used to operationalize the variables

included in the subsequent analysis. When repeated measures were taken across the three contact period, identical measurement procedures were used.

(1) Main Breadwinner Occupation (1966): This variable was determined by asking the respondent to indicate the occupation held by his family's main breadinnwer. The responses were coded according to the Duncan Socio-Economic Index (SEI).

(2) Race (1966): Race was dichotomized into blacks and whites and a few students who reported other ethnic status (e.g., Mexican American or American Indian status) were deleted. This differentiation reflected the segregation patterns observed in the high school in 1966.

(3) Educational Aspirations (1966, 1968, and 1972): The respondents were asked the following question:

"If you could have as much education as you desired, which of the following would do?"

1= Quit school right now.

2= Complete high school.

3= Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.

4= Graduate from a junior college (2 years).

5= Graduate from a college or university.

6= Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

(4) Educational Expectation (1966, 1968, and 1972): The respondents were asked the following question with the same responses and coding procedure as above.

"Sometimes we are not always able to have as much education as we would like. How much education do you really expect to have?"

(5) Goal Blockage--Race (1966, 1968, and 1972): The respondents were asked: "How much effect do you think each of the following things will have in keeping you from getting the job you desire?" One of the items listed was "My race". The strength of response was again coded on a forced-choice format as follows:

1= None

2= Some

3= Much

4= Very Much

(6) Goal Blockage--School Attended (1966, 1968 and 1972): Measures for a second blockage factor, "the effect of the schools I have gone to" was determined in the same manner as for race goal blockage.

(7) Certainty of Educational Expectation (1966, 1968, and 1972): The respondents were asked the following question: "How certain are you that you will get the education you expect?" The strength of response was coded on the following forced-choice format:

1= Very uncertain

2= Uncertain

3= Not very certain

4= Certain

5= Very certain

## RESULTS

### Analysis of PropositionI:

It may be recalled that the first proposition stated was the broadest of the propositions. For that reason, we will defer comment on Proposition I until the analysis has been presented on the lesser, derivative propositions and hypotheses. Analysis of Proposition I then will be found at the conclusion of the "Results" section so that all relevant propositions and hypotheses may be considered in commenting on it. Furthermore, the discussion of each proposition will follow the discussion of each pair of derived hypotheses. This format will allow some comment on individual hypotheses and then comparative comments where relevant in discussion of the broader propositions.

Hypothesis IIa:

It was posited here that the educational aspirations of segregated and desegregated black youth would not be significantly different. The analysis of variance (ANOVA) for the 1966 data, prior to the students actually being dichotomized, revealed that those students who were to eventually attend desegregated schools had higher aspirations than those students who were to attend segregated schools ($\bar{X}_1 = 4.59$ compared to $\bar{X}_1' = 4.13$); this difference, however, was not of statistical significance ($F = 3.12$, $P = .08$). In 1968 and 1972, the ANOVA revealed a small F-value and corresponding probability ($F = 1.20$, $P = .28$; $F = .32$, $P = .58$). Thus while there was a fairly sharp difference in the pre-desegregation year, there was no significant difference observed in either 1968 or 1972.

Hypothesis IIb:

It was posited here that the educational aspirations of segregated and desegregated white youth would not be significantly different. This hypothesis was found to be true for each time period; no significant differences were observed: 1966, $F = -.14$, $P = .71$ 1968, $F = .97$, $P = .67$; 1972, $F = .56$, $P = .54$.

Analysis of Proposition II:

Proposition II posited that there would be no significant difference in the educational aspirations of segregated and desegregated black and white youth. The analysis cited above supports this proposition. One note of interest on this is that the mean aspiration for desegregated blacks dropped from 4.59 in 1966 to 4.15 in 1968 while at the same time, the mean for segregated blacks increased from 4.13 in 1966 to 4.42 in 1968; as previously mentioned, however, the observed difference was not of statistical significance. It might also be mentioned that the means for both groups increased in 1972 ($\bar{X}_3 = 4.94$ and $\bar{X}_3' = 5.06$).

Hypothesis IIIa:

This hypothesis posited that the educational expectations of segregated and desegregated black youth would not be significantly different. The hypothesis was accepted at all three points in time-- no significant differences were observed: 1966, $F = .07$, $P = .79$; 1968, $F = .01$, $P = .92$; $F = .39$, $P = .54$.

Hypothesis IIIb:

Similar to Hypothesis IIIa, this hypothesis posited that there would be no significant difference between segregated and desegregated white youth. Also similar to Hypothesis IIIa, no significant differences

were found: 1966, F = .76, P = .61; 1968, F = .00, P = .99; 1972, F = 1.93, P = .16).

Analysis of Proposition III:

Proposition III was similar to Proposition II except that the intent here was to see if any difference existed between the education expectations of segregated and desegregated black and white youth. It is apparent from Hypotheses IIIa and IIIb that no significant differences were observed.

Hypothesis IVa:

In this hypothesis it was posited that race as a blockage factor would be perceived equally by segregated and desegregated black youth. This hypothesis was not supported. In the pre-desegregation measure (1966), no difference was observed (F = .05, P = .82). However, once desegregation had occurred, significant differences were found with desegregated blacks perceiving race as more detrimental than segregated blacks. This was true in both 1968 (F = 7.94, P = .006) and 1972 (F = 3.73, P = .05). We will defer additional comment on this until the "Discussion" section.

Hypothesis IVb:

This hypothesis posited that there would be no significant differences between segregated and desegregated white youth as to the weight given to race as a blocking factor. This hypothesis was supported at all three points in time: 1966, F = .05, P = .83; 1968, F = 1.93, P = .16. In 1972, there was absolutely no difference between the two groups; all respondents answered the item with a one (1= not at all important).

Analysis of Proposition IV:

Analysis of Hypotheses IVa and IVb reveals that the general proposition posited, i.e., race blockage being the same for segregated and desegregated black and white youth, was not supported. For whites, not unexpectedly, no differences were observed. For blacks, however, this was not the case. The immediate effect of desegregation in 1968 was such that the difference between desegregated and segregated blacks attained statistical significance; this gave a measure of the short-run effect of desegregation. The more long-run effect of the desegregation experience also revealed a difference of statistical significance with desegregated blacks perceiving race as more of a handicap than did segregated blacks.

Hypothesis Va:

This hypothesis posited that segregated black youth would perceive the schools attended as a blocking factor significantly more intensely than desegregated black youth. While there can be no clear conclusion on this hypothesis, what was found contradicted the hypothesis as stated. Although no difference was observed in the pre-desegregation period ($F = .46$, $P = .51$), a difference of statistical significance was observed in 1968 ($F = 4.42$, $P = .04$). The important thing to be noted here was that it was the desegregated not the segregated blacks who saw schools attended as comparatively more detrimental; this was the opposite of what had been posited. The difference observed in 1972 was not of statistical significance ($F = .21$, $P = .65$).

Hypothesis Vb:

It was posited in this hypothesis that schools attended would be perceived as a blocking factor equally be segregated and desegregated

white youth. While the difference between the two groups was a fairly strong one in 1966 (F = 2.84, P = .09), the pre-desegregation year, the difference at the additional points in time was minimal: 1968, F = .25, P = .67; 1972, F = .61, P = .56. Thus this hypothesis was accepted.

Analysis of Proposition V:

It had been posited in this proposition that segregated black youth, but not segregated white youth, would see schools attended as more of a blocking factor than desegregated black or white youth. This proposition was not supported. While no significant differences were found for white youth, a difference was found among black youth and not in the direction posited in the proposition. It was desegregated black youth who perceived schools attended more negatively than segregated black youth, even though the desegregated black youth may have been exposed to better overall school facilities than were experienced by their segregated cohorts.

Hypothesis VIa:

It was posited in this hypothesis that the certainty about educational expectations would not be significantly different for segregated and desegregated black youth. Although the means for segregated black youth were higher at each point in time, in general the data supported this hypothesis: 1966, F = .31, P = .59; 1968, F = 2.10, P = .15; 1972, F = 1.72, P = .19. Thus the certainty of both groups was very nearly the same.

Hypothesis VIb:

This hypothesis posited that the certainty of educational expectations for segregated white youth would not be significantly different from that for desegregated white youth. The somewhat inconsistent findings

noted in several previous propositions and hypotheses was also found in the analysis of the present hypothesis. In 1966, the difference observed was not of statistical significance ($F = 2.08$, $P = .15$) but did nonetheless, have a fairly high probability. In 1968, the difference observed was of statistical significance ($F = 7.25$, $P = .008$). For both 1966 and 1968, it was the desegregated groups which evinced the higher certainty (segregated means 3.65 and 3.61 versus desegregated means of 3.87 and 4.08 in 1966 and 1968 respectively). However by 1972, the difference had diminished and no significant difference was found ($F = .01$, $P = .90$). Thus because of the marked difference found in 1968, this hypothesis was not accepted.

Analysis of Proposition VI:

It was posited in this proposition that the certainty about educational expectations would be nearly equal for both segregated and desegregated black and white youth. In general, this proposition was supported (i.e., five out of the six analyses conducted yielded differences not of statistical significance). However the rather unpredicted finding for segregated whites in 1968, negates complete acceptance of the proposition. All that can be concluded here is that for the most part the hypothesis was supported but some intervening effect occurred in between 1966 and 1968 which caused segregated whites to be less certain of their educational expectations than desegregated whites.

## DISCUSSION

It should be recalled from the earlier review and discussion of school desegregation literature that there appears to be three general lines of thought concerning the likely social mobility consequences of the desegregation experience for black youth. As a point of clarification, the reader

should be aware that by desegregation experiences reference is explicitly made to youth who have experienced a change from previously segregated to desegregated school situations. The three positions can be outlined (admittedly in over-generalized form) as follows:

(1) The desegregation experience will enhance the mobility chances of black youth by exposing the effected youth to a "superior" school situation that in turn through various processes increases and broadens the students opportunity for attainment of higher level educational and occupational goals. The advocates of this position typically stress the significance of equal opportunity, the positive aspects of new socialization patterns, improved quality of teaching and educational facilities, and the formation of attitudes conducive to higher attainment levels.

(2) A second and counter position maintains that the black youth who enter the desegregated school situation will, in the aggregate, suffer negative consequences as a result of direct competition and comparisons with white youth who are already better prepared and more advantaged in terms of factors associated with higher attainment. Advocates of this position tend to view these negative influences as the short-run cost of desegregation which will diminish as inequalities in mobility statuses of blacks and whites decrease. The position tends to be associated with such explanations as relative deprivation, inter-racial competition - conflict and self concept formation.

(3) The third and most controversial point of view is that existing research does not support either of the first two positions in a convincing manner. In fact, it is maintained that the effects of desegregation

(as a special case of school effects) on social mobility are apparently minimal. Advocates here play down the role of education in attainment and argue that the schools have proven to be of minor importance in reducing inequality.

When the findings of this study were taken collectively and considered in terms of the three aforementioned perspectives, for black youth, it was apparent that our study tended to support the third generalization. That is, the desegregation experience in our youth panel was found to have negligible effect on the formation of measured mobility-linked attitudes. More specifically, in each comparison between desegregated (experimental) and segregated (control) groups, the analysis failed to reveal significant differences in mobility-linked attitudes. Group differences in educational aspirations and in educational expectations did not occur in the short-run (high school senior year) or in the long-run (4 years after high school). The consistency of these results clearly strengthens the position that stipulates the minimal influence of the desegregation experience on social mobility, at least as indicated by mobility-linked attitudes.

Although not directly addressed in the above discussion, the influence of desegregation on white youths' attitudes was also investigated. Again no differences were observed in either the short-run or long-run between white youth who remained in segregated schools and those who participated in the desegregation. This finding further encourages the interpretation of minimal school effects.

There were, however, differences observed between the segregated and desegregated groups in terms of their perception of factors that would

block the attainment of occupational goals. The desegregated black group both in the short-run and in the long-run were more likely to view their race as a blockage factor. The largest difference occurred at the high school senior year and had diminished somewhat by the post-high school interview. This finding does suggest that desegregated black youth were more likely to define their occupational chances in racial terms indicating an increasing awareness of possible racial discrimination resulting from desegregation. Interestingly, desegregated black youth, at least in the short-run, were more likely to view their school as a possible blockage factor. It is not clear whether the black youth were considering their total segregated and desegregated school experiences or their more immediate desegregated school experiences. In responding to this item, in the first case it would follow that the response could indicate a negative evaluation of their earlier segregated school situation, in light of current improved desegregation situations. In the second case, however, a contrary interpretation might apply, in that black youth were in this case negatively oriented to a white desegregated school situation. It should also be recalled that this difference had disappeared by the third interview.

In evaluating the results of this study, the reader should be cautioned on several points. Although the research design was a quasi-experiment and the temporal scope of the data exceeds that of comparable studies, certain very desirable attributes of experimentation were absent. The most serious of these was the absence of randomization procedures in determining experimental and control groups and of course,

the inability of the researchers to manipulate the introduction of desegregation. Second, the research was conducted in three low-income rural counties in Texas. There is no reason to believe the quality of the introduction of desegregation is directly comparable to non-rural groups or to deep South rural populations which have historically experienced greater difficulty in the process. Third, the facilities offered to youth in both segregated and desegregated situations may have been of approximately the same poor quality that the change for the black youth to previously all white schools may have resulted in no real change in these factors.

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# APPENDIX

TABLE 1

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR BLACK YOUTH

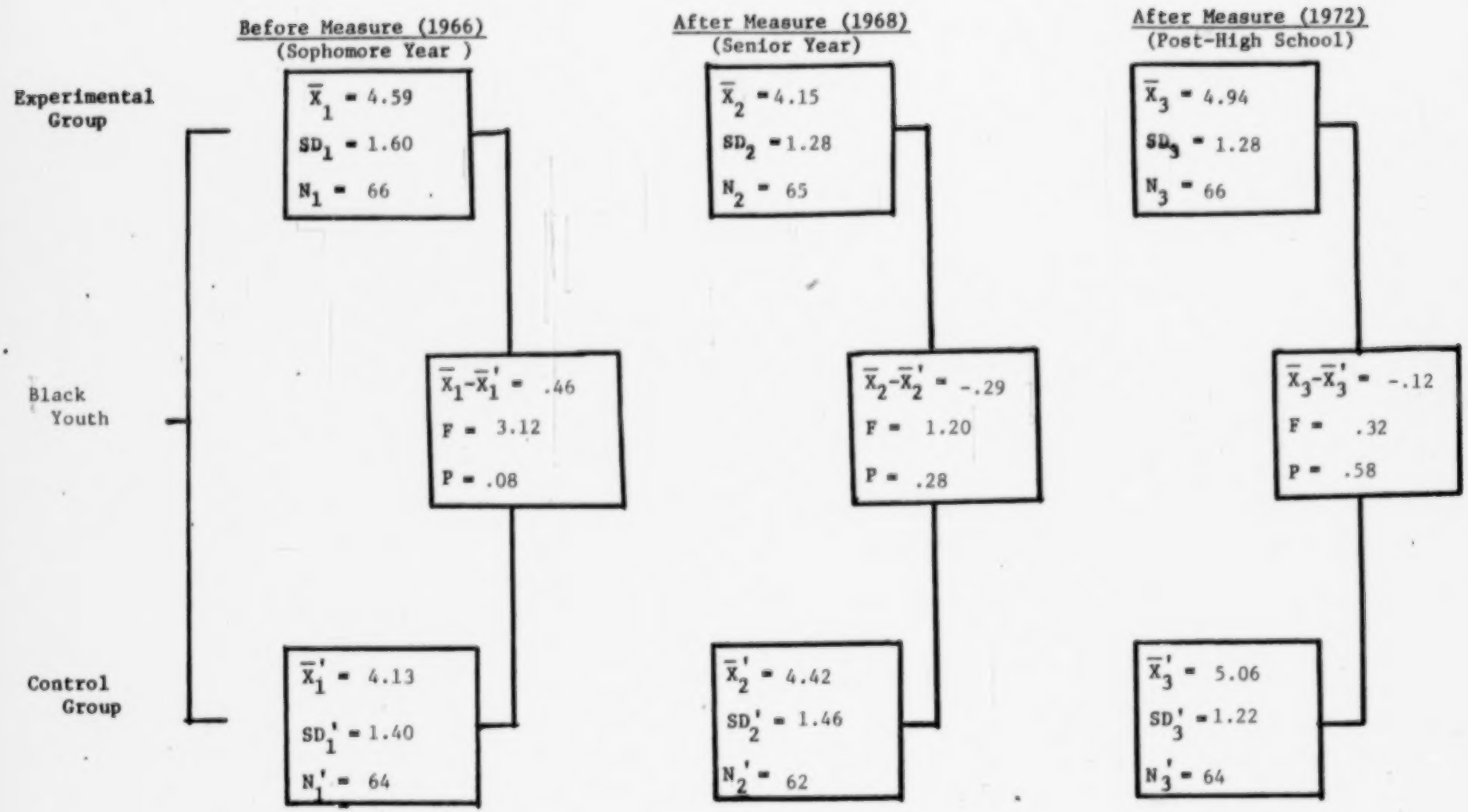

TABLE 2

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR WHITE YOUTH

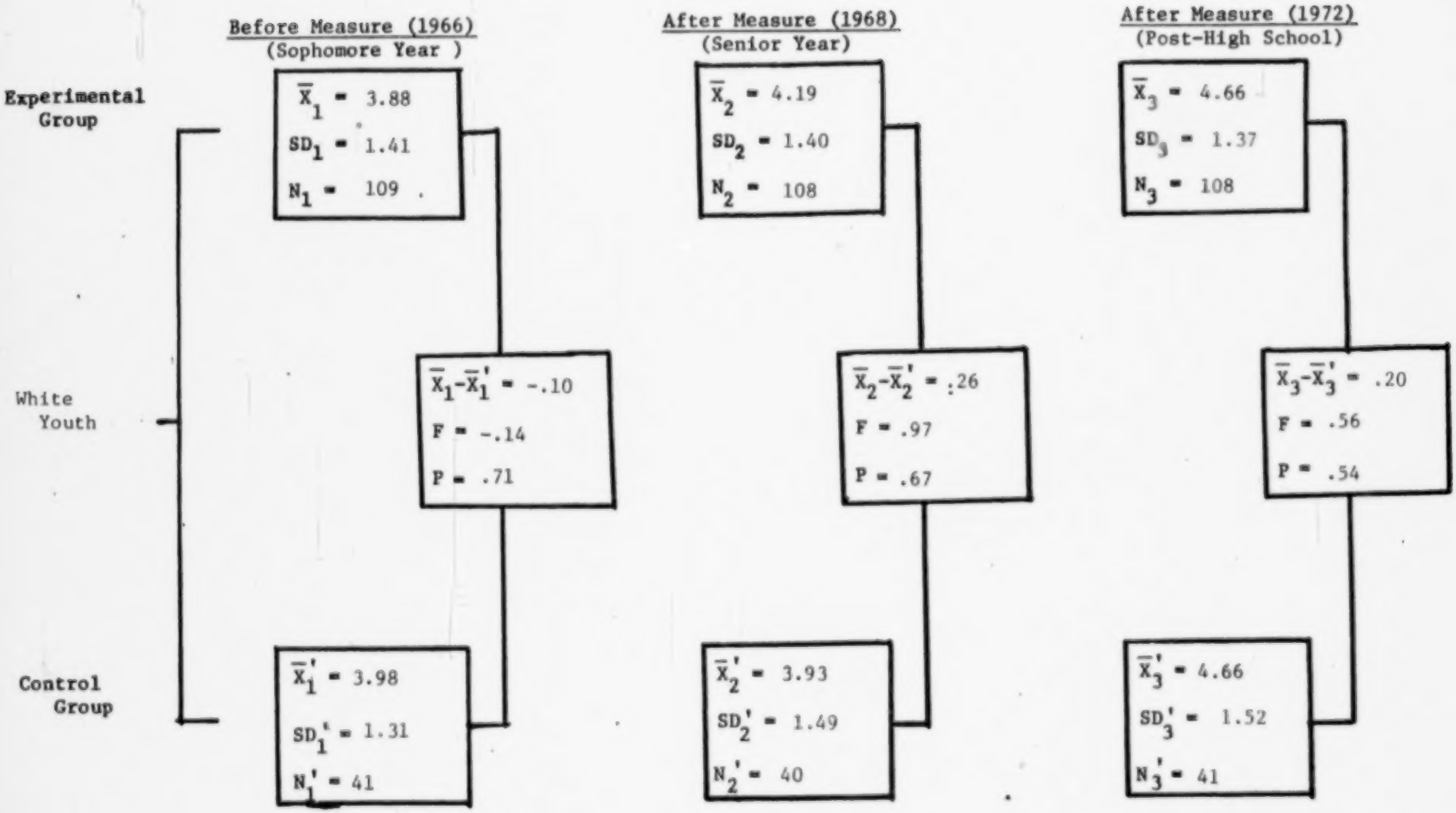

TABLE 3

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR BLACK YOUTH

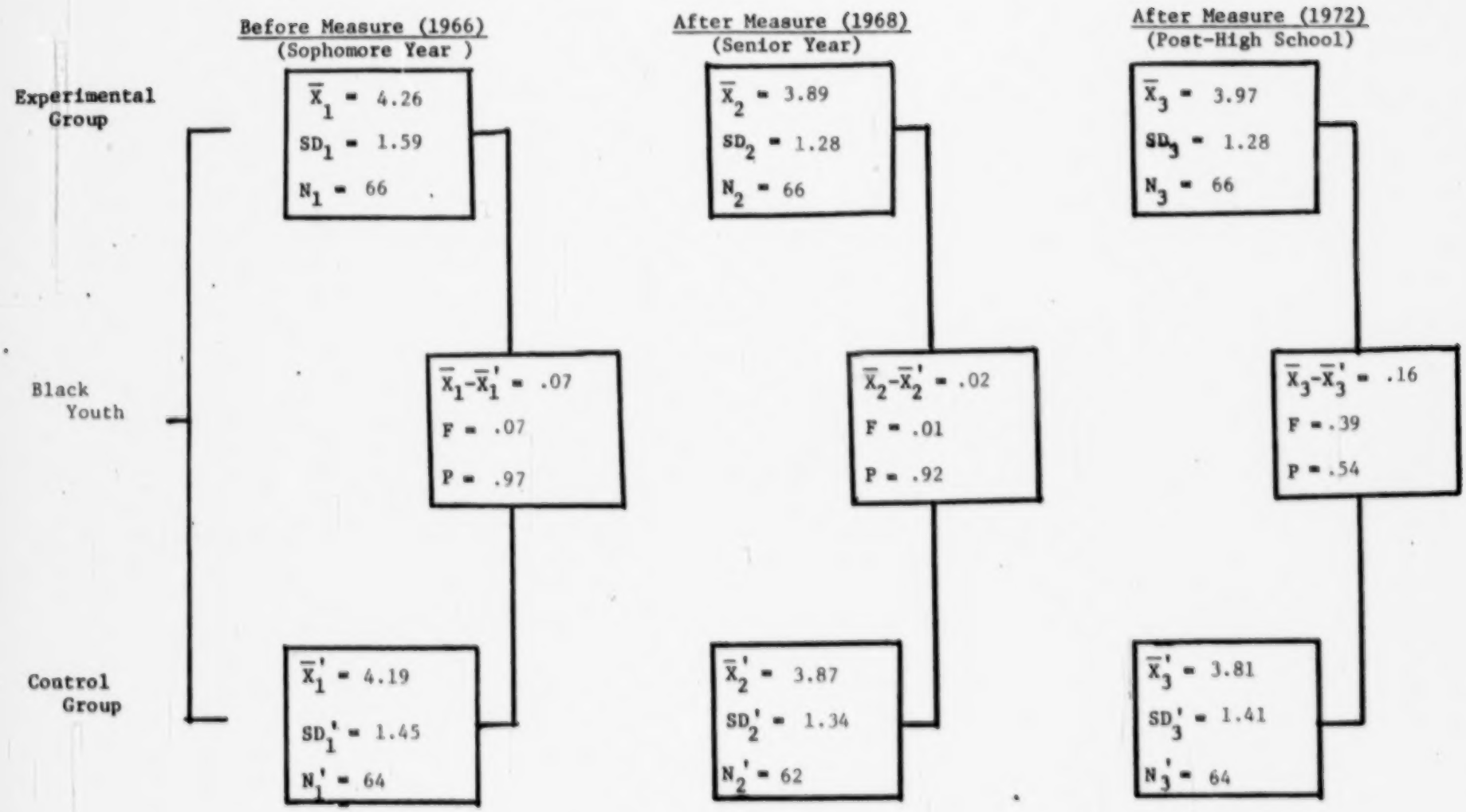

TABLE 4

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR WHITE YOUTH

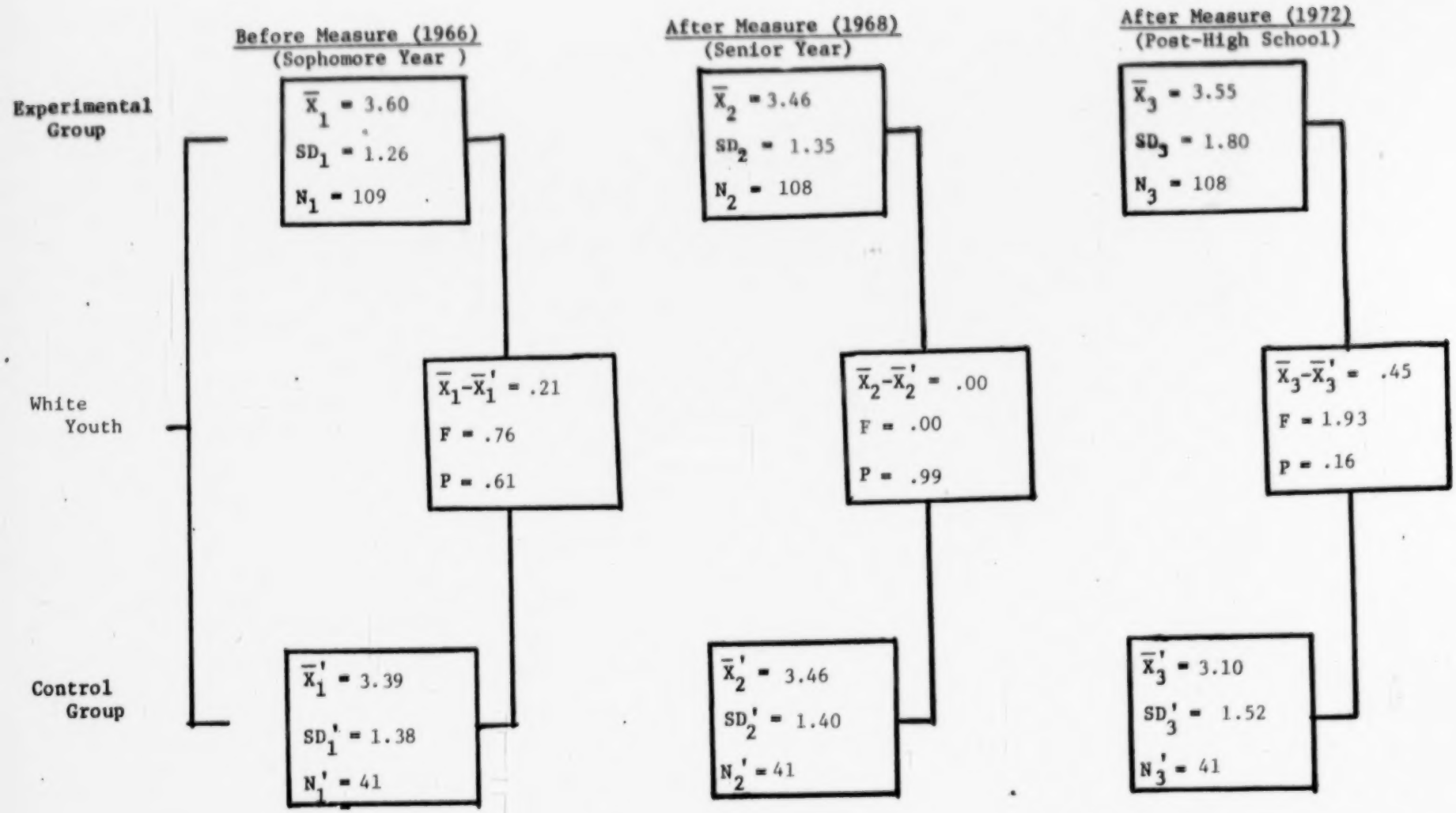

TABLE 5

PERCEIVED RACE BLOCKAGE FOR BLACK YOUTH

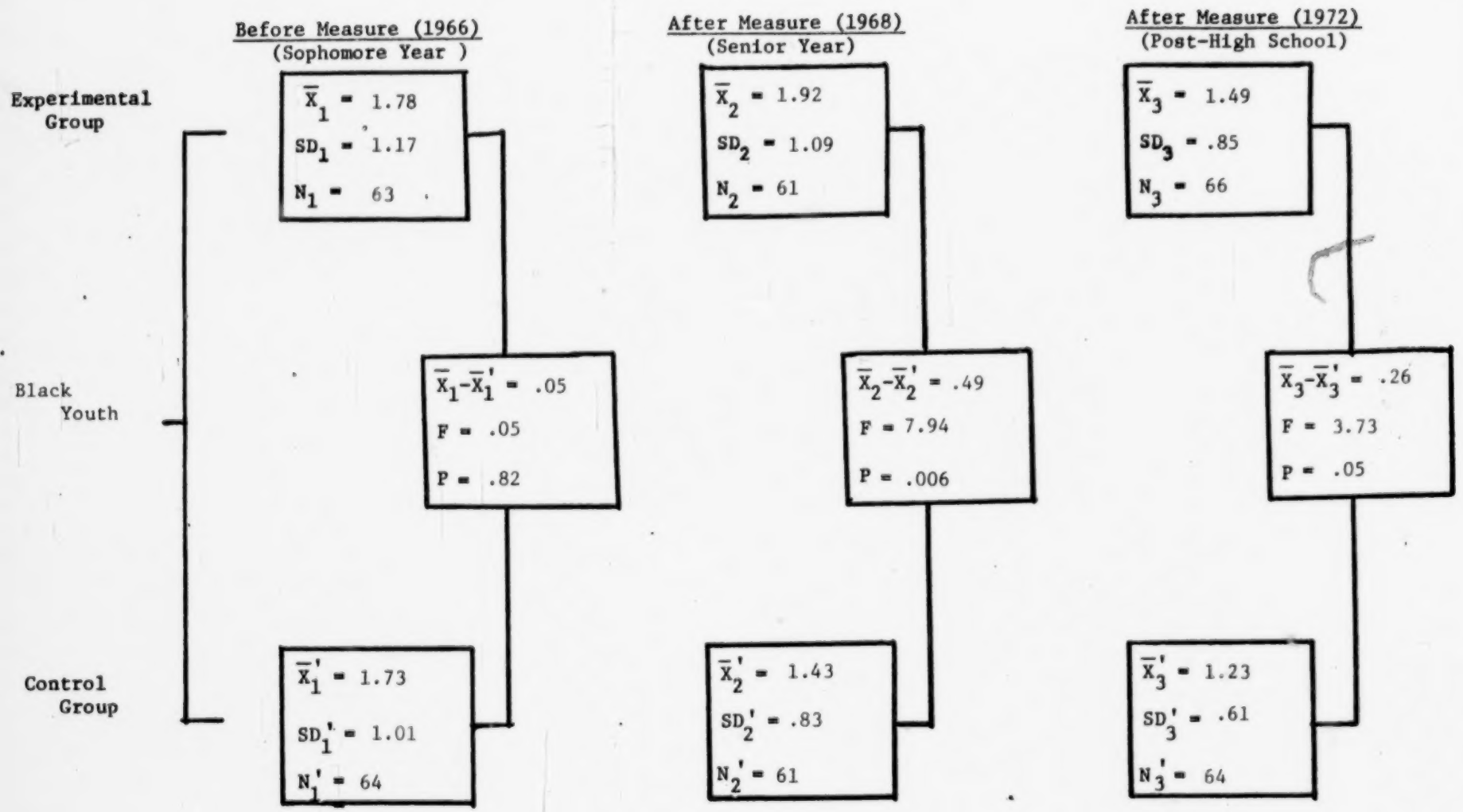

TABLE 6

PERCEIVED RACE BLOCKAGE FOR WHITE YOUTH

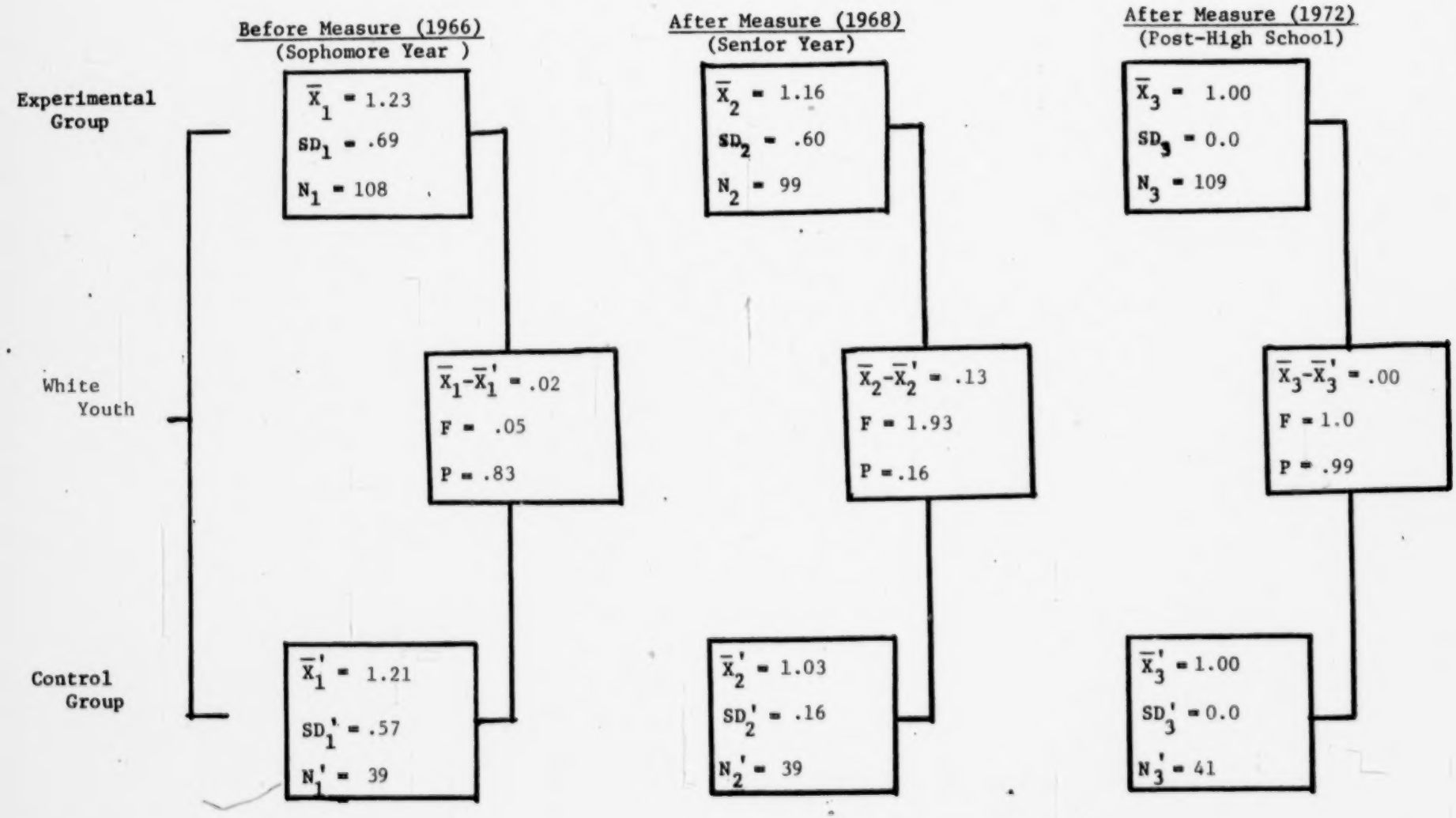

TABLE 7

PERCEIVED SCHOOL BLOCKAGE FOR BLACK YOUTH

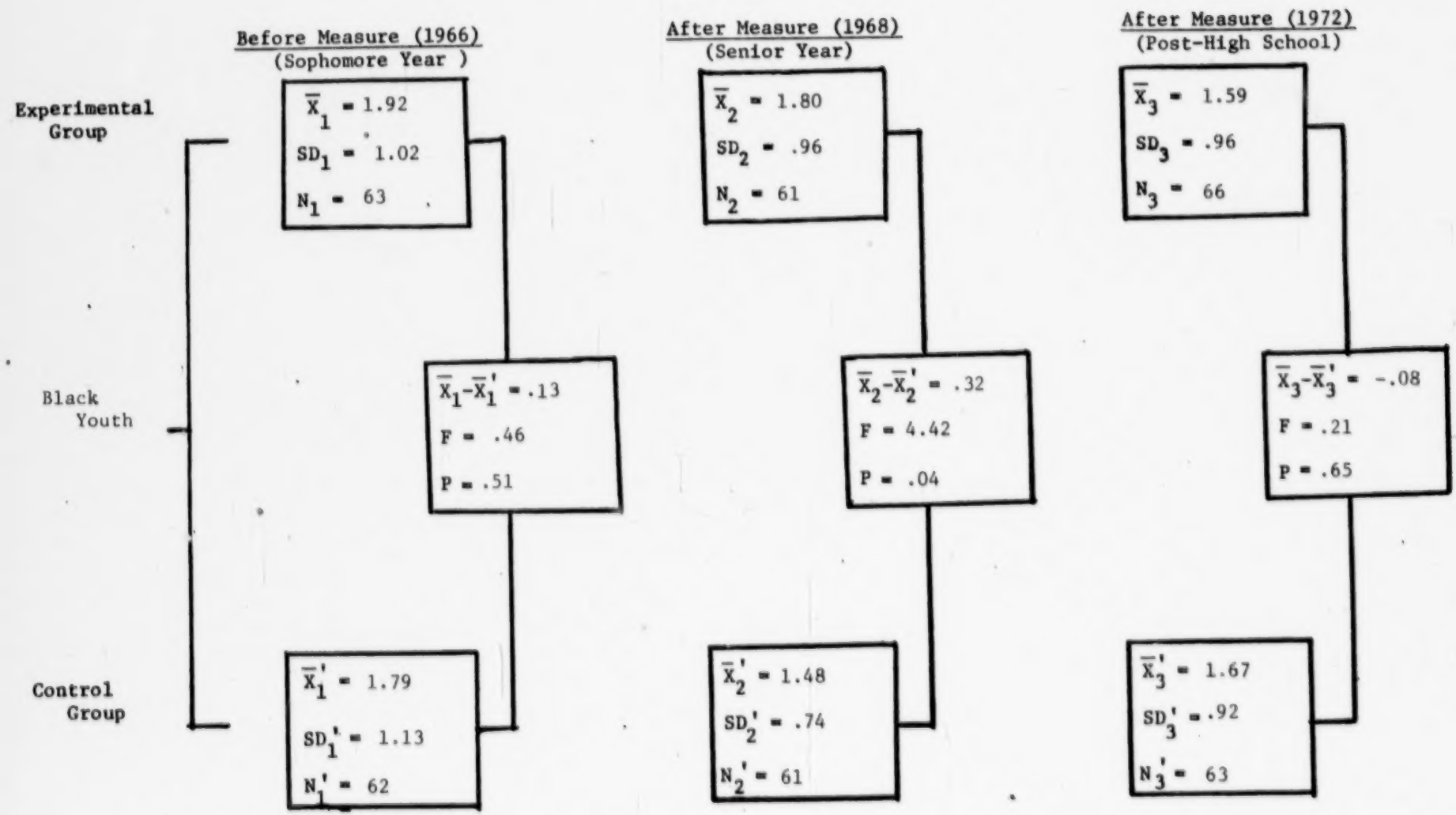

TABLE 8

PERCEIVED SCHOOL BLOCKAGE FOR WHITE YOUTH

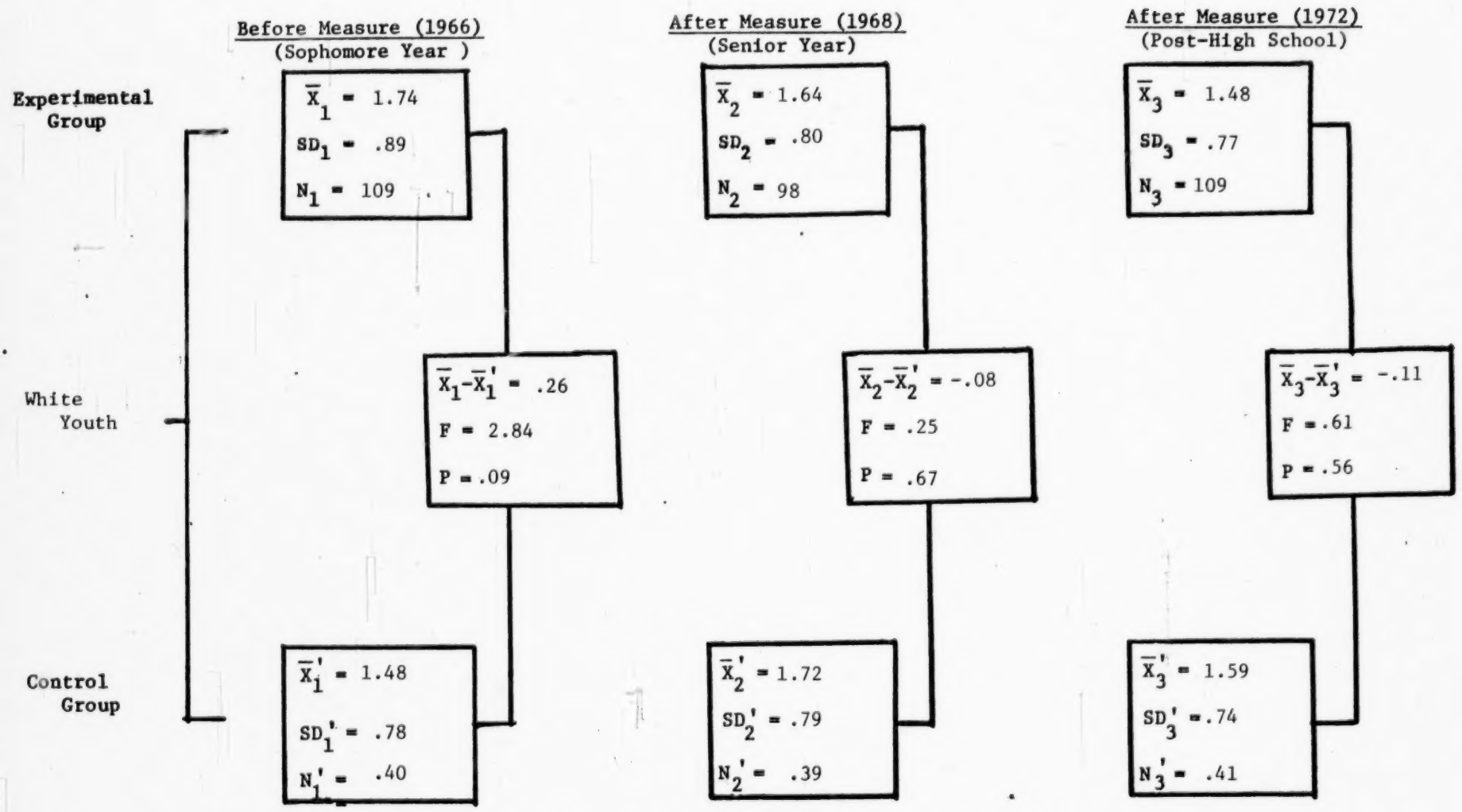

TABLE 9

CERTAINTY OF EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR BLACK YOUTH

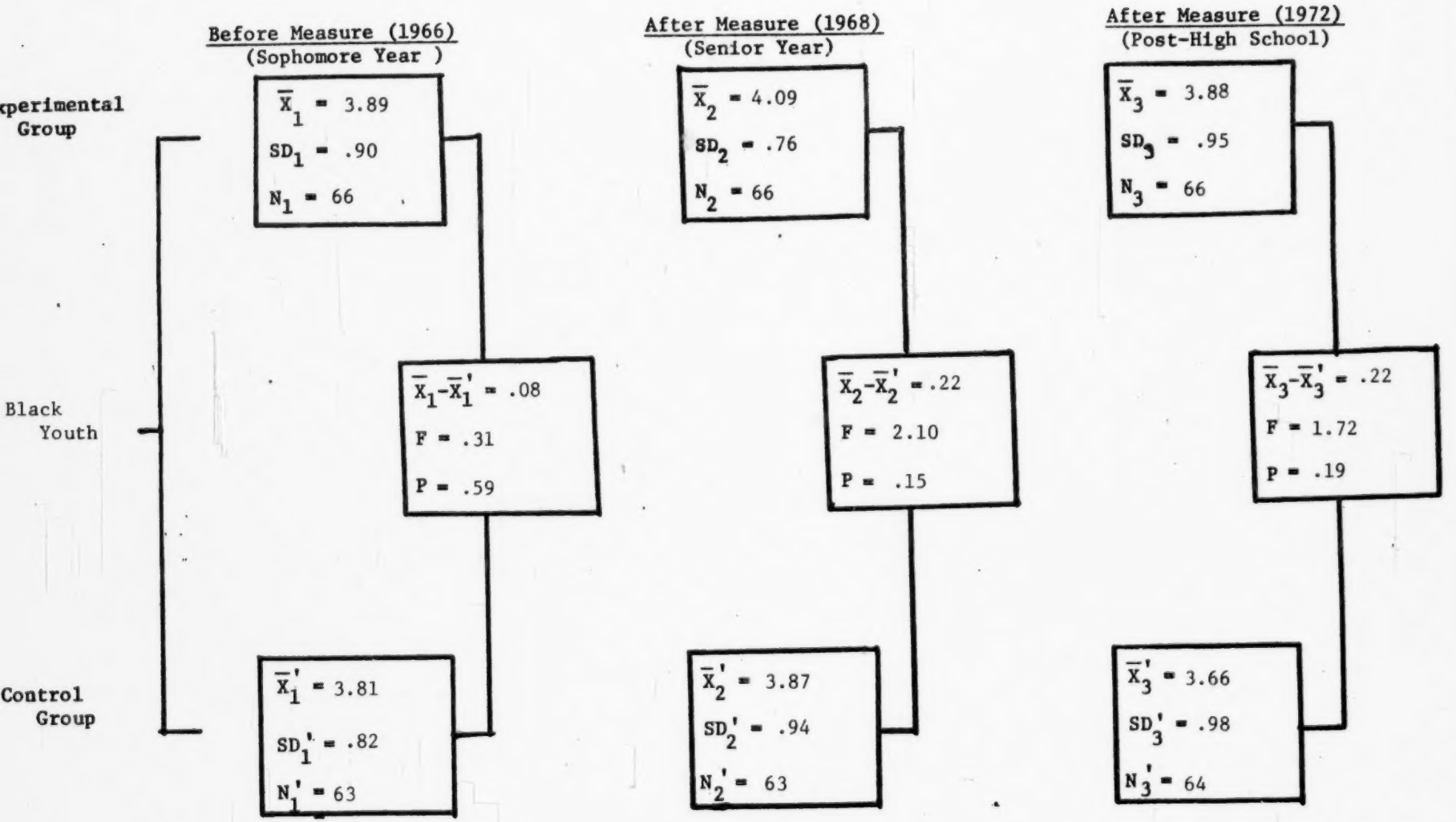

TABLE 10

CERTAINTY OF EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR WHITE YOUTH